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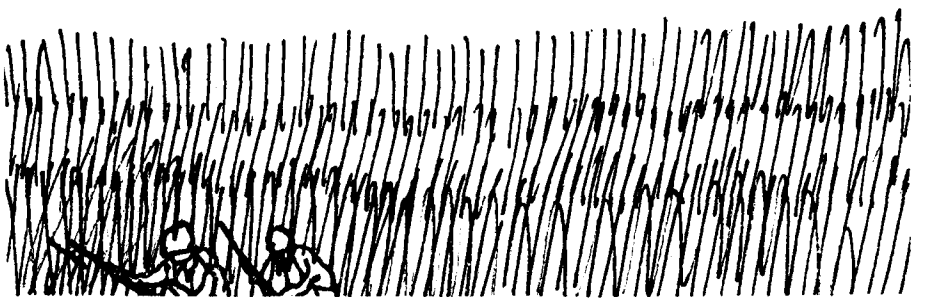

GAS WARFARE

Reflections on a moral outcry

Julian Pleasants

APPALACHIA FIVE YEARS LATER

Stephanie Harrington

MARXISM WITHOUT ATHEISM?

Marcel Reding

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CORRESPONDENCE

Mixed Marriages

Albuquerque, N.M.

To the Editors: The letter from Mary Myers Walsh [April 9] regarding the freedom of the non-Catholic partner in a mixed marriage reminds me of the attitude of some southern whites in the civil rights struggle—"Let's not go too far in this freedom business."

As a non-Catholic married to a Roman Catholic twenty-six years, I rejoice that there are some within the Roman Church who believe that this obnoxious law should be done away with. Actually, the only reason should be because it is the right thing to do. The Church cannot be forever protecting the faith of her children at the expense of depriving the conscience of another. She must not deny the right to another that she claims for herself.

Mrs. Walsh says that removal of this restriction would cause "friction at least, bedlam at most." This law has not avoided or removed friction, it has caused it. Mrs. Walsh further states, "How can an impasse be avoided? By one partner yielding to another?" What does she think has been going on all these years? The non-Catholic partner has *always* had to yield to the Catholic partner! If this is "an impossible stand in the light of our tradition(?) of primacy of conscience," it is more impossible when it has been denying the non-Catholic partner freedom in his own home life. More suffering has been caused to both partners by this law than any other.

As to removing restrictions "to preserve an image," it is like saying the civil rights law was passed to preserve an image, not to replace injustice with justice.

The partners of a mixed marriage will gladly accept the "passing of the buck" to them, where it rightfully belongs. These are chances we just have to take, trusting in God and asking His guidance in these responsibilities, as in all other aspects of married life, not for the sake of "preserving the image" but as part of the give-and-take a marriage involves. The church can guide, but it cannot do for the individual what he must do for himself.

No, Mrs. Walsh, please do not put a damper on the wonderful "sensitivity to the non-Catholic conscience" that has been too late (at least for me) coming. Freedom now!

MRS. JOE R. ORTIZ

Vietnam and Pacifism

Trappist, Kentucky

To the Editors: While agreeing perfectly with the letters of James Forest and Charles Knight [April 16], I would like to question the reasonableness of the rather common idea that any opposition to the Vietnam war is "pacifism." In fact, it seems that nowadays people are more and more tending to qualify *any* idea of abstaining from force in *any* international conflict as "pacifism" (with the implication of course that it is also the "pacifism" of the weak" as Mr. Forest pointed out). It is my considered opinion that, quite apart from moral considerations, the Vietnam war is taking on the aspect of folly, brutality and massive stupidity that characterizes the blindness of the power politician and leads eventually to his own ruin.

It is my considered opinion that quite apart from questions of conscience, a power politician in his right mind would devise some other way of handling the Vietnam situation to better advantage for his own interests. It is obvious to the world that the "escalation" of the guerrilla war (in which technological power has been made to look ridiculous by the fierce and dedicated resistance of a few half-starved men with holes in their pants) is an expedient for putting the conflict on a plane where the American war-machine can function in the style to which it is accustomed. And this even if it involves the danger of a world war, the useless—repeat, *useless*—deaths of millions of civilians and no appreciable advantage to the United States of America, except for the satisfaction of the fantasies of those who for some reason imagine themselves personally threatened by what is said to be happening in Vietnam—and of course handsome profits for those whose financial interests are involved.

Quite apart from any theoretical or practical notions about the morality of war, it seems to me that such a lamentable situation calls for protest even on the grounds of common sense and ordinary practical sanity, and to make such a protest in no way implies that one is a pacifist. That is the point of this particular letter: the question of peace and war tends more and more to be discussed on the level of blind faith rather than on that of reason. It becomes a question not of clear-headed and sane options, but of fanatical loyalties one way or the other; whether one "believes in" our side (in which case everything becomes permissible) or whether one "believes in" the cause of humanity (in which case one promotes peace at any price). Pope John—who distinguished himself by treating this issue with eminent sanity—pointed out that it was a matter of *reason*, not of blind faith. His challenge that war could hardly be a reasonable solution to our conflicts was not a profession of pacifist faith, but a reasonable challenge to reasonable minds to prove him wrong. If we pursue our present course in Vietnam, without regard for Pope John's placid reasons, I am afraid we are going to prove him right.

THOMAS MERTON

"The Emerging Nun"

San Francisco, Calif.

To the Editors: Your space—and my time—are limited, so *mirabile dictu*, I shall be brief. Let me simply echo with the deepest sincerity James O'Gara's capital suggestion in your issue of April 16 that "every Newman center in the country . . . have sisters as well as priests to work with female students . . ." Adding with "male" as well as female students, I can think of no more effective way to breathe new vitality into this all-important aspect of the Catholic apostolate than

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to introduce these dedicated women to the Newman centers of the secular campuses. Their presence would in itself be a benediction, to say nothing of the assistance they would render to the woefully overburdened priests who are trying so nobly to cope with the rising human tide that threatens to engulf them.

Archbishop Ireland has been quoted as having once said, "The timid move in crowds, the brave in single file." Brave —and highly intelligent—as so many of these wonderful religious women are, they cannot move until given the signal from above. Is there not somewhere in this vast land a bishop who will point the way for all of us, not only by his permission, but by his active sponsorship of the sisters in this regard? For surely the bishop in whose diocese is located one of the great universities of the United States, if not of the world, who was heard to reply to a mention of that fact, "It is not my responsibility," is the exception, not the typical representative of the ordinaries who rule the 148 dioceses of the American Church.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

Priests in the World

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: I wish to take issue with the concept of the priesthood which Justus George Lawler presents in his "The Problem of Priests in the World" [April 16], and with the assumptions upon which it is based.

In his effort to distinguish between the priesthood and the laity, Lawler argues that by virtue of ordination the priest becomes a different, and superior, order of being, with a relationship to the Word and the world different in kind from that of the layman. I realize that I am approaching a complex and delicate issue; Lawler's assumption has taken on an aura of infallibility from centuries of Church teaching and practice. Nevertheless, I believe it is both practically and theoretically fallacious.

In the practical realm, I have observed neither the bishop's, or priest's,

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MARXIST-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

In this issue Marcel Reding discusses the theoretical base of a phenomenon that has appeared and developed with little attention to theory: a dialogue between Christians and Marxists. The argument is simple enough, if debatable: Marxism can retain its theoretical integrity while sloughing off its essentially nineteenth-century opposition to religion. There is no doubt that Communist parties in Europe are rather cynically manipulating the possibilities offered here by Pope John. Yet there are strains of Marxist thinking that consider the campaigns against religion outmoded and the opportunities for Marxist-Christian cooperation at least worth exploring. Togliatti, in the same will that called for more emphasis on freedom within the Communist camp, also disavowed the traditional anti-religious propaganda. And presumably the Communist film director Pier Paolo Pasolini, whose "Gospel According to St. Matthew" has won Catholic awards, speaks for more people than himself when he insists that Communism must respect religion as an important phenomenon and as a generator of worthy social change.

A year ago Western Christians came back from the All-Christian Peace Conference at Prague convinced that at least some of the Marxists present were struggling toward a new view of Christianity. They also encountered the view, held by Christians behind the Iron Curtain, that Christians of the West were rather late in attending to the possibilities of turning a confrontation into a dialogue. In Salzburg, under the auspices of the Vatican's new Secretariat for Unbelievers, Marxists and Christians are now probing for areas of cooperation.

No one expects anything but difficulties. Pope John's *Pacem in Terris,* which opened the door to a Marxism-Christian dialogue, was enthusiastically received by the Communist world, yet there are few signs of abatement in the anti-religious pressures behind the Iron Curtain. The world-

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wide conference on *Pacem in Terris* held recently in New York was attended by Communists, which in itself is a step forward, yet the Communists present were all government spokesmen who showed no willingness to deviate by an inch from their governmental line.

The Vatican Secretariat is an encouraging sign. So are the indications by its head, Cardinal Koenig, that the group will deal with belief and unbelief, not politics or the merits of political systems. The Secretariat embodies the ideas of Pope John and Pope Paul. The latter has been careful not to close the door opened by his predecessor. In his Easter message last year, Paul made a special appeal to atheists, including Marxists, to keep an open mind about religion. Despite a few ritual concessions to the hard anti-Communism of the Curia, this has been the Pope's characteristic approach. In *Ecclesiam Suam,* he was careful to repeat John's useful distinctions between "erroneous philosophical doctrines" and "historical movements" arising out of them, between error and those who err—distinctions which have become the charter for openness toward Communists and the Communist world.

In Italy itself, Communist-Christian dialogue has become an important fact of life. Meetings are common on all levels throughout the nation; Catholic and Communist intellectuals discuss, debate and publish books together. For better or worse, the appearance of domestication is settling over the Italian Communist party, the largest and most powerful in the West. Just who is converting—or devouring—whom is not clear. Both sides appear surprised at the amount of flexibility apparent in the other. But if anything is clear in the Italian situation, it is that dialogue is taking place because each side is too formidable for the other either to overcome or overlook. This may be the essential lesson and stimulant for the dialogue in general.

MONEY AND LAY RIGHTS

While it is common enough for laymen and itinerant priests to criticize the Catholic school system, it is rare for a bishop to do so. No doubt that is why the speech of Auxiliary Bishop Clarence E. Elwell at the National Catholic Education Association's annual convention received so much attention. His remarks were not original, but they were bluntly put. There must be an end, he said, to the use of money-raising "gimmicks" to help support parochial schools. In place of raffles, bazaars, the sale of Christmas cards, jewelry and school uniforms, "less nervewracking and far more dignified" methods of fund raising must be found. Bishop Elwell's suggested solution is the formation of school districts in which the member parishes would contribute to a common fund. Each school in the district would then be given money according to its needs.

Such a plan may be worth considering, particularly since there is often a considerable difference in the degree of affluence from one parish to another. But the very fact that a reliance upon "gimmicks" is so widespread may point to far more radical needs. Why are "gimmicks" now necessary? One reasonable answer may be that the average Catholic parishioner is simply not willing to give the schools the kind of direct support they need. He will do so only if the request for money is sweetened with some kind of tangible trinket, cake, prize, card, statue, or what not, by means of which he gets something in return for his money. Not much, but something.

Of course it can be said that the parishioner gets something far more valuable from the money he puts directly into the collection basket for the schools: a better education for his children or at least a sense of satisfaction that someone else's children are the better off for his money. Since gimmicks are necessary, however, parishioners must not see it that way. They'll do their bit in the collection, but not much more.

The trouble with Bishop Elwell's plan, then, is that it doesn't go to the root of the problem. Far more promising is the direction urged by the Superintendents' Ad Hoc Committee on School Boards at the NCEA Convention. What the Committee wants is a predominantly lay membership on all school boards, with Catholic parents having a voice in policy-making decisions. The Committee's goal, happily, is not that of finding slicker methods of getting money out of lay purses. Instead, it is to give the Catholic parent a direct role in the running of the schools. That of course is the way it should be.

In the best of all possible worlds, an institution would get rich for doing the right thing. It doesn't work out that way very often in our world; but it just might in the case of the Catholic school system. For if the layman was given responsibilities and rights—rather than cakes, cards and statues—he might well give more money. Under the present system, the layman is expected to hand over his money without asking questions, without making suggestions, without saying how the money should be spent. Can anyone really wonder that he is often reluctant to give more than quarters and half-dollars? When the layman can someday feel that the school system belongs to him—and not to the bishop or his pastor or the teaching nuns—he may then show some fresh enthusiasm about supporting it.

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BACK DOOR TO PEACE?

Is an international conference on Cambodia the back-door route to a Vietnam settlement? Britain, Russia, North Vietnam and the U.S. seem willing to try to find out. When Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia called for an international gathering to devise guarantees of the neutral status of his nation, diplomats were quick to see such a conference as an instrument for talks on Vietnam without making commitments. Britain and the Soviet Union, as co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina, now have an excellent opportunity to invite the nine nations which participated in those discussions to reconvene.

Like everything else connected with Vietnam, however, the Cambodia conference is far from a sure thing. Prince Sihanouk has stated that there is no need for Thailand, South Vietnam, or the U.S. to be in such a meeting. Such a suggestion begs most of the questions the conference is supposed to resolve, since the Thai-Cambodia and the South Vietnam-Cambodia borders are the very boundaries (and frequently disputed ones, at that) which would be guaranteed. And to remove U.S. commitments from the discussion would be to remove reality. But whether Prince Sihanouk meant what he was saying, or whether it was a gesture for the entertainment of China, which has shown no taste for anything leading to a Vietnamese settlement on terms other than U.S. and Saigon surrender, is unclear. Earlier in the year, Sihanouk was reported as being privately (but only privately) grateful for American opposition to the extension southward of Chinese dominance.

Problems remain, even if Prince Sihanouk's objections disappear. The Soviet Union and North Vietnam insist that the Viet Cong's National Liberation Front should represent South Vietnam at any conference, but isn't this precisely what all the fighting (and presumably any future negotiating) is about? Yet with all its difficulties the proposed conference on Cambodia offers the United States an excellent opportunity to search for a *modus vivendi* for Southeast Asia. America's effort to make its determination in Vietnam clear to Hanoi has necessarily led to a certain rigidity in policy. The Cambodia conference, where proposals could be made without implying any final decision, might restore some flexibility to an ever-hardening situation.

BISHOP IN CHECK

The importance of Turkey's threat last week to expel more Greek nationals from its territory and place further restrictions on the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul should not be underestimated. The Patriarchate has been subject to harassment by Turkish authorities for years. Much of it is petty, such as the last-minute delay in issuing Patriarch Athenagoras a travel permit for his 1963 meeting with Pope Paul in the Holy Land. Since then, however, two members of the Ecumenical Church's governing Holy Synod have been expelled (they and almost all the ranking clergy are Turkish citizens), church publications have been closed down, and acts of vandalism against church property have increased.

Turkey's actions are pathological reflexes to its frustrations over Cyprus. Pathological because the Patriarchate is nowhere near to being the thorn in the side to Turkey that the 19th century papacy was to Italian nationalism. At most it is an affront, a legacy of Turkey's failure to rid the country of all foreign elements after the fall of the Ottomans. The present Patriarch has done his best to minimize that affront. And in any event, he has abided by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which guaranteed religious freedom to the Ecumenical Church on condition that it refrain from political activity.

The situation is nonetheless critical for the Ecumenical Church, for Orthodoxy in general, and even, to some extent, for the prospects of dialogue between the Eastern and Western Churches. The Patriarch's defined powers as spiritual leader of 150 million Orthodox Christians do not approach those of the Pope in the West. What influence he wields is largely determined by his personality and personal prestige. That it can be enormous has been shown by Athenagoras, who at present offers the only real hope of unifying the 15 independent national Orthodox Churches enough to achieve a dialogue with Rome "on equal terms." Toward that goal, he has begun on the long road of Orthodoxy's internal reform and revitalization, which will mean an uphill fight against poverty, chaotic administration, and general demoralization. Not only is reform essential for dialogue, but, paradoxically, without the assistance of the Western Churches, it is doubtful the reform can be fully realized. And without both, it is unlikely Orthodoxy can maintain its already waning influence in its traditional territories.

But however expert Athenagoras may be, his authority finally rests in the office of the Ecumenical Patriarch, whose importance in turn depends upon its physical occupancy of the See of Constantinople. Should he be removed and much of his effectiveness lost, it would be a disaster to Orthodoxy and to many ecumenical hopes in the West.

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WASHINGTON REPORT

A WORD TO MY CRITICS

I had not intended to write so soon again about Vietnam, but letters from readers accusing me of everything from anti-Christian sentiments to ignorance impel me to return to this subject.

My basic position on Vietnam, as on all the issues between ourselves and the Communist nations, is "ideological." I see the world caught up in a great, continuing struggle to determine the future and destiny of mankind. I see this as a fundamentally moral struggle between the forces tending toward good and the forces tending toward evil.

There is nothing narrowly nationalistic in my viewpoint. I am not trying to exalt America; I am trying to help save human freedom. America, with all its imperfections, is the mainstay of the cause of freedom. It is the only country that possesses both the material strength and the self-confidence to stand firmly against the aggressions and blandishments of Communism, whether emanating from Moscow or Peking, Havana or Hanoi. Western Europe has the wealth but, exhausted by two major wars, has lost the self-confidence. As for the rest of the world—the so-called "third world"—Latin America, Africa, and India are too weak and too preoccupied with their own problems.

I placed the word "ideological" in quotation marks because I do not equate a philosophical commitment to freedom with the Marxist concept of ideology. It is not the mere intellectual superstructure for one's economic interests. On the contrary, freedom is a moral end in itself which any person can naturally perceive and cherish, independent of his own interests.

But whether we call it ideology or philosophy, my viewpoint toward foreign affairs is distinctly unfashionable nowadays, at least among most writers on the subject. Hans Morgenthau, much of whose writing I admire, wrote in a recent issue of the *New Republic* a criticism of Administration policy in Asia in which he stated his well-known conviction that moral concerns have no place in the making of foreign policy. William Pfaff, my friend and fellow contributor to these pages, has co-authored two lively books explaining at length how unsound and outdated views such as mine are. He fails to convince me as, obviously, I fail to persuade him.

The "good Communist" doesn't exist. The expression is a contradiction in terms. There can only be Communists who are less evil and less obnoxious than other Communists. This is relevant to Vietnam because a remark frequently made in the present controversy is that we should let Ho Chi Minh take over all of Vietnam and hope that he will become another Tito. It may be an exaggeration to say that its proponents offer this as a splendid, shining prospect but they certainly offer it as an agreeable solution.

My reaction to this suggestion always is—what is so great about Tito? He is just another dictator—which is to say another enemy of human freedom—not much better or worse than Kadar in Hungary or Franco in Spain. I disapprove of all of them.

Because of my radical commitment to the cause of freedom everywhere, I was particularly astonished by a criticism contained in the closing passage of a letter by Diane Feeley (April 9 issue) commenting on my article, "The Price of Retreat" (March 5). She writes:

"The inhuman (needless to say, un-Christian) words of Mr. Shannon strike terror into the human heart: 'These small states are not in themselves valuable . . .' Are some people *really* less valuable? . . . The title of the article ("The Price of Retreat") suggests a way of thinking that is basically inconsistent with the aims of COMMONWEAL."

Of course, I do not think some people are less valuable than other people. That is why I carefully used the word "states" rather than "peoples" in an effort to make clear, at least by implication, that I was writing in a military, not a moral context. In a war, a commander often has to surrender one piece of territory in order to concentrate his strength for saving another piece of territory that is easier to defend or, for any number of reasons, may be judged more valuable. It was only in this sense that I made the value judgment which Miss Feeley so drastically misinterpreted.

Majority Would Vote No

If Miss Feeley is so concerned about the people of Vietnam, I am mystified as to why she is so indifferent to the moral issues involved in the war there. After all, several hundred thousand persons fled from North Vietnam at the time of the 1954 partition in order to escape living under Ho Chi Minh's rule. These individuals must see some differences between the tyranny in the North and the misrule in the South which outsiders so often casually equate. Also the armed forces loyal

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to the government in the South greatly outnumber the Viet Cong Communists. Admittedly, they do not outnumber them 15-to-1 which guerrilla warfare experts regard as the ideal ratio of government troops to guerrillas. But there is no doubt in my mind that if it were feasible—which it is not—to disarm everyone in the South, seal off the country, and hold a free election, the majority in the South would not vote to live under Ho Chi Minh's government.

I do not know what prompted Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, USN(Ret) to write his letter which also appeared in the April 9 issue since he and I are in agreement on the basic question: he wants this country to stay in Vietnam and so do I. But his criticisms, at least in part, are likewise based upon a misunderstanding of what I wrote. Admiral Hayes disputes my statement that our nuclear umbrella had anything to do with our military position in the Western Pacific in the past sixteen years. On the contrary, he says, the U.S. was able to send fleets through the Pacific, land troops in Asia, and protect Formosa "because we controlled the oceans and they did not." Of course we controlled the Pacific Ocean. No one is disputing that. Since the Admiral did not read carefully what I wrote, I will repeat it: "Since the Communists came to power in China in 1949, we have been able to hold them at bay *at relatively cheap cost* to ourselves. *It has been cheap because* the U.S. has had a nuclear umbrella and the Chinese have not." (Italics added.) Our fleet controlled the ocean but it was our nuclear strategic mastery vis-a-vis Red China that enabled us to make use of our fleet freely and flexibly. If Red China had possessed nuclear bombs and we did not, we would not have dared fight a war in Korea or Vietnam. Or, alternatively, if both the U.S. and China had possessed the bomb, we would have had to take more elaborate military precautions. By "cheap" and "costly," I do not, of course, mean money; I am talking about the size and nature of the risks incurred. My essential point is that once China is a nuclear power, that fact will drastically alter the balance of power, narrow our options, and raise the risks on everything we do in Asia.

Why Sit Idly By?

Admiral Hayes wants to know how we can withhold permission from Mao to develop a nuclear arsenal. He suggests that I am urging "preemptive war" which he had never expected to see advocated in COMMONWEAL. (A lot of people seem to be worried that I am spreading heresies in these pages.) I do not want to wage a nuclear war, whether preventive, preemptive, or any other kind with Red China. But I greatly fear that if the Red Chinese are permitted to develop a nuclear arsenal, the probability of such a war between the U.S. and China ten or fifteen years from now will be greatly increased. I do not know why we have to sit idly by and do nothing while the notoriously hostile Chinese Communists develop the capacity to blow up the world.

The nuclear test ban treaty of 1963 provides all the moral sanction for prompt action that anyone could desire. It clearly registered the judgment of the overwhelming majority of nations of the world that nuclear arms should not spread further than they have. If the United Nations were what it should be—a world government ruling the world community under a code of law, it would enforce the test ban treaty by sending its air force to bomb the Red Chinese nuclear plants. (It would also send its navy to blockade the area in the Pacific where the French intend to test their hydrogen bomb.) But since the UN does not have its own air force or the executive capacity to act at the present time, I propose that the U.S. send its own planes to bomb—with conventional bombs—the Chinese nuclear plants.

By old-fashioned standards, that would be an act of war. By the new world community standards that the nuclear-and-rocket age require, it would be an act of elementary peacekeeping. It should be no more controversial than the police in any city today disarming underworld gangsters. Notwithstanding all the pro forma protests that would occur, the entire world, including Russia, would experience a profound new sense of security and confidence. China could not retaliate because it is not yet in a position to retaliate. Indeed, China has not responded militarily to our bombing of North Vietnam precisely because it fears U.S. raids on its nuclear plants.

James G. Hart in a letter (March 26) asked how I thought that standing firm in Vietnam could possibly restrain China. One of the several reasons that I am in favor of facing up to the issues in Vietnam is that I hope such a confrontation will help educate the American public about the far more serious problem of China and its future nuclear role. This education might lead to our taking action against China in the next year or two while there is still time, although I am not optimistic on this point.

Those who disagree with my call for action now may well ponder Mao's own dictum: "Law grows from the point of a gun." Unless someone is prepared to define the law of the world community and enforce it, there will be no law. Without law, there may be no world.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

TO MY PACIFIST FRIENDS

Some weeks I wrote a column called "Men of Peace" in which I saluted Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J., and his brother, Father Philip Berrigan, S.S.J. The brothers Berrigan had signed what was called a "declaration of conscience" pledging complete non-cooperation with American prosecution of the war in Vietnam. As I made clear in my column, I could not myself sign such a declaration, but I respect and honor the Fathers Berrigan for their deep concern about the rapidly deteriorating situation. At the time I put it this way:

"One may, of course, disagree with the specifics of their statement, as I do, but this is not the central point: the central point is that they have done what most needs doing, and that is to insist on the relevance of morality to the question of national policy and war. In this I think they are in the best Christian tradition."

After the column appeared, I received nice letters from both Fathers Berrigan. Theirs was about the only such mail I received, though. Almost all the other mail that came in was from pacifists, and much of it was rather warlike in tone. My position seems to be somewhere between William V. Shannon and William Pfaff, at least as far as Vietnam is concerned. I'd like therefore to try one more time to make my position on the matter clear.

In my original column I wrote that "I am unable to deny to the state the right to use force if necessary to protect the common good, and I think it wrong to let evil triumph." Some of my pacifist friends seem to have been most stung by the suggestion that I was alone in thinking it wrong to let evil triumph. They do too, they insist, and I am sure they do. But in the case in point I cannot see how even the positive rather than negative type of pacifism they espouse could do a thing to save pro-Western Vietnamese if we were to pull out of Vietnam without some kind of international policing arrangement. Indeed, if the United States simply withdrew, what would happen, in my opinion, would be a tremendous blood bath as the Viet Cong took over the entire country.

It may be that the Vietnamese war is or once was a civil war, or perhaps even a war of colored against white. Perhaps the United States had no business getting involved there in the first place. But the fact remains that we are there and that the Viet Cong today is effectively Communist-controlled, whatever it was in the beginning. To withdraw at this point without adequate guarantees would be to hand all of Vietnam to the Communists.

This does not mean, though, that the hawks inside the Administration should be free to do whatever they want in Vietnam—far from it. War makes sense only as a rational instrument of political policy, and as a last resort. Carrying the war to North Vietnam made no sense, in my view, unless it was intended simply to bring the Viet Cong to the bargaining table. Certainly any action that involves the serious risk of extending the war to China should be undertaken only if all else has failed.

In point of fact, bombing North Vietnam has so far achieved little that is productive, unless it be for our own self-esteem after long years of losing a guerrilla operation. At this point I agree with Senator Fulbright that we should call a halt to the bombing in order to see if this move would help produce negotiations. Some see this as national surrender, but I think this is nonsense. The fate of the world is involved, and there is absolutely no room here for the spirit of retaliation that blindly insists on bigger and bigger raids for every Viet Cong attack.

As I see it, this position is in line with historic Christian morality on war. The Christian tradition, I think, has always sought to limit violence, to restrict it, in a sense to "civilize" warfare. Yet this is an idea that strikes many people today as strange, and that is why it is now more important than ever to insist that war must be subject to moral law. It is for this reason that I honor the pacifists; I do not agree with them, but I pay tribute to them because almost unaided they keep alive the notion that war must be subject to Christian judgment.

It can, of course, be argued, and with some justification, that there are two dangers, two extremes—the pacifist who rejects all force, on the one hand, and the man who puts no limits to violence on the other. In fact, though, this argument is somewhat misleading. The number of pacifists is small (although they are great letter-writers!); the number of those who are ready to abandon any limit on violence in war is legion. The pacifists bear Christian witness to moral concern; the indifferent and insensitive threaten a return to barbarism. Between the two I'll take the pacifist any day. But I still do not think we should simply withdraw from Vietnam.

JAMES O'GARA

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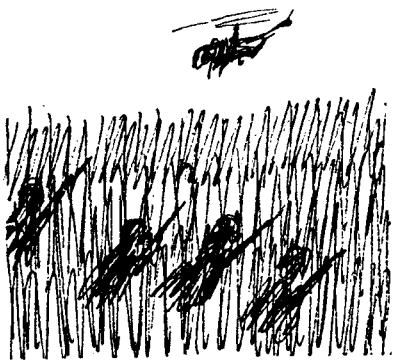
GAS WARFARE

Is it justifiable as minimum force?

JULIAN PLEASANTS



Would it have been less evil for Southern police to machine-gun Freedom Marchers than to tear-gas them? The extreme reactions to non-lethal gas in Vietnam would imply this. Apparently it isn't what happens to the people involved that counts. It's the "nature" of the thing, and in this case the "nature" is not even a nature, but a word—"gas".

I had lately begun to think that the determination to settle all questions by attaching labels to them was primarily a Catholic trait. It looked as if the debate over "the pill" was going to be decided by the label you could make stick on it. If "sterilization" or "mutilation" stuck, you could damn the pill. If "repose" or "postponement" stuck, you could sanctify it. But some reactions to the use of gas indicate that the practice of condemnation by labeling is very widespread. It is not only Aristotelians who refuse to admit evolution: in this case the possibility that chemical warfare might evolve in the direction of humaneness, and might even be the only form of warfare that is progressing in that direction.

As far as the concrete facts of the recent Vietnamese incidents are concerned, we are dependent on Secretary McNamara's recital of the effects of DM, CS, and CN gas on the respiratory and digestive systems. Perhaps he didn't tell all. Perhaps newer facts will change the picture. Nevertheless, the principle that he and Dean Rusk enunciated, the principle of minimum force, seems altogether basic to the moral prosecution of any end which might justify the use of violence. My purpose here is not to argue the justice of the war in Vietnam or the justice of the particular uses which were made of non-lethal gas in that country. What I would like to show is that the development of chemical and biological methods of warfare might conceivably represent a *necessary response* to the moral requirement for minimum force. They might even offer a way out of the atomic impasse.

There seems to be a widespread view that *physical* force has been the traditional means of settling wars, and that there is something almost clean and wholesome about physical agents such as flying projectiles. There seems to be an *a priori* viewpoint that physical agents of violence offer the most hope for: (1) confining injury to the enemy to the minimum level needed to put him out of action, and (2) confining the injury to combatants. One would think that napalm, saturation bombing, and the atomic bomb would have exploded the latter viewpoint by now.

But there is not even any substance to the viewpoint that weapons of physical violence have been decisive in wars of the past. They haven't. Until very recent times, most wars were settled by germ warfare, in which, of course, the germs were acting on their own. Furthermore, the effect of these war-propagated epidemics was proportionally much more damaging to the non-combatant population than modern techniques of bombing and fall-out. For documentation of the

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decisive military role played by typhus, cholera, plague, and dysentery, read chapter VIII of Hans Zinsser's *Rats, Lice and History.*

The Conquering Germ

As Zinsser says, the problem is not to find evidence for this role, but to select from it. Herodotus credits the saving of Greece from Xerxes to the disease (it sounds like plague) that cut the Persian army nearly in half. Constantinople was saved in 425 when some plague decimated the attacking Huns. The Crusades were decided by microbiological warfare, and almost everyone knows something of the sad fate of King Louis's half-million-man army in Egypt. Some other Crusades were turned back by disease before even reaching the Holy Land. The military fortunes of Spain and France over a long period were settled by which side had the most typhus.

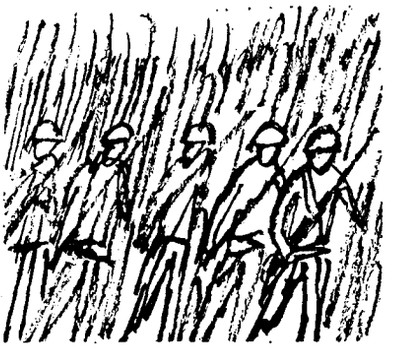
In the conquest of the New World, the real conquistadores were smallpox, measles, typhus, and tuberculosis. And Americans seem to have been the originators of deliberate germ warfare when they sold the Indians blankets from smallpox victims, or sent them visitors carrying measles, to which the Indians were acutely susceptible.

In 1632, typhus defeated both sides in a war before battle could be joined. Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein faced each other before Nuremberg, then fled from an epidemic that killed 18,000 soldiers. The success of the French Revolution was partly decided by dysentery in the ranks of the Austro-Prussian army marching against the new regime. The establishment of the Haitian Republic was accomplished by yellow fever, which killed 22,000 of the 25,000 French soldiers sent to put down the revolt.

Napoleon's 500,000-man army of 1813 reached Leipzig with 170,000 men, 105,000 having been lost in preliminary battles, 219,000 lost from service by disease. In the Crimean War, cholera and typhus killed twice the number that died in battle or of wounds. Even as late as World War I, it was a rampaging epidemic of typhus in Serbia, killing 150,000, that held the border against the Austrians for six months and certainly helped, if not decisively, to determine the outcome of the war.

There is thus nothing new about microbiological warfare. It is just the idea of *controlling* it which is new. In World War II, epidemics were held at bay by both sides. Will World War III see deliberately seeded epidemics? On the face of it, that hardly seems likely. Typhus can stop an army, but can it stop an A-bomb? Can you incapacitate a rocket-launching team to the point where no one can push the button?

Yet research into biological warfare goes on here and elsewhere, research into both offensive and defensive uses. Details are not published, but the diseases



must certainly include such things as tularemia, psittacosis (parrot fever), valley fever, Q fever, and brucellosis. Botulism is a favorite subject of speculation and, presumably, of research. This is not an infection, but poisoning by the notoriously potent toxin of botulinus, a microbe which can grow in improperly canned food. Seven ounces of the toxin could kill the entire human population of the world. Both the United States and Russia had discovered new strains of botulinus for which the old anti-serum did not work. Each had developed a new anti-serum for its new strain in order to protect its own population. Then it turned out both countries had the same strain, and therefore the new anti-serum. Still, the logistics of therapy would seem impossibly formidable, and this technique remains a very serious possibility for a type of warfare which is closer to chemical than to microbiological.

Both the history of involuntary germ warfare, and the thought of what might be dreamed up in the way of a new mutant microbe, are enough to send shivers of horror through us at the mention of the words "microbiological warfare." Yet from the point of view of morality, the principle of minimum force, the idea of incapacitating rather than killing, there is much to be said for germ warfare if only it could be delivered where it was needed. In theory it should be possible to produce a non-fatal, non-propagating disease which would attack 100% of those who received the proper dose, as from an aerosol spray or some vehicle like drinking water. This theoretical disease would have a brief incubation period and keep the victims incapacitated for an appropriate period of time. Besides being deliverable, the infectious agent should be hard to detect, produce such general sorts of symptoms that would make diagnosis difficult, and, of course, be impervious to drugs or serums possessed by the enemy.

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No known disease measures up to these specifications, yet biological warfare centers are undoubtedly looking for something like it (as well as for things much worse). The appropriate disease could be something new and exotic, or a mutant strain of an old one. During World War II the laboratory in which I work studied methods of harvesting and preserving organisms such as that causing typhus, using our germ-free techniques in reverse in order to protect the personnel working with the organism. This technique is now standard procedure in biological warfare laboratories such as the one at Fort Detrick, Maryland. According to some standards, my participation in this work should make me feel guilty, but I find it at least conceivable that some technique of microbiological warfare could prove both morally and militarily superior to atomic warfare. The need for developing defenses against microbiological warfare also demands continuing research into the likeliest choices for germ warfare attack.

A Life of Its Own

The most serious aspect of microbiological warfare is this: the microbe has a life of its own. No matter how well we have delineated its character, the germ does not have to stay in character. One of the customary ways of building up the virulence (attacking power) of a microorganism is rapid passage through a series of animals. A disease germ spread abroad over a wide area might find new modes of transmission, and might be so altered by rapid serial passage from one person to another as to become a very different disease. Germ warfare is indeed a Pandora's Box, yet weighed against an alternative of atomic war, some form of it might be far the lesser of two evils.

Lying between the two horns of such a dilemma, however, could be chemical warfare. Compared to microbes, a chemical has no life of its own that could mutate beyond recognition, and it is not self-propagating. Furthermore, there is much more likelihood of getting a tailor-made molecule than there is of finding a highly-developed microbial organism that could fit our specifications. Most people are aware that plant destroyers have been tailor-made to attack different kinds of plants. Incidentally, these have been used in Vietnam for years to defoliate jungle areas. Their use seems considerably more justifiable for this purpose than the use of fire bombs or the introduction of plant disease. Even the destruction of food supplies by chemicals or microbes could have its humane side, if the enemy saw the handwriting on the wall soon enough, and surrendered in order to be fed.

Compared to warfare of physical violence—fire, radiation, flying objects—there seems far more likelihood that chemical warfare could meet the demands of minimum force. If a war can be won by incapacitating rather than killing, this requires some means of stopping the incapacitating action in each victim at a level which is both effective and non-fatal. Outside of a blackjack in the hands of a trained thug, no such *physical* weapon seems likely to be found. Yet chemicals could be produced to meet those exact specifications, chemicals which cannot kill, but can produce incapacitating effects if they can be effectively delivered. The effectiveness of some such chemicals has been proved in various just and unjust police actions. It cannot be said that Americans have failed to try them out on Americans first.

At the moment, these humane features of non-lethal gas seem to have interfered with its effectiveness. Apparently no successful results were obtained in Vietnam, even though the type of war there is one in which chemical warfare seems most promising and most needed. For stopping World War III, it would seem necessary to get the appropriate chemicals, not onto the battlefield, but into the Kremlin, the Pentagon, the Palace in Peking, and simultaneously into all the rocket launching sites. This does not seem very feasible, but it might not be hopeless.

Tranquilizing the Enemy

The ultimate in chemical warfare would be a nerve gas, discovered and unleashed by both sides, that turns all the enemy population into pacifists. Like the use of tranquilizers for mental patients, such a measure might not cure, but it could create a climate for cure. Biologists who capture wild animals for study, and veterinarians who deal with them in zoos or circuses, obtain fantastic results with tranquilizers injected by dart gun, or placed in food. Is something similar possible as a means of warfare, and again, would it stop a man from pushing the button at the rocket launching pad?

Nerve warfare is nothing new. The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not based on any pretense that the people in those cities were cornerstones of the Japanese war effort. They were killed for the effect it would have on the nerves of the Japanese nation. The saturation bombing of Hamburg was calculated psychological warfare, carried out at the price of 150,000 lives, to affect the nerve of Germans and Russians alike.

All warfare is biological warfare. All warfare is

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psychological warfare. Men must be made helpless. Men must be intimidated. At the moment, death is the chosen means to both ends. Yet chemical warfare offers at least the conceivable possibility of achieving both ends without killing. The other alternative is pacifism.

I could be called a pacifist of sorts, a pacifist not of principle but of prudential judgment. I do not see that modern war or any action *as action* has been shown to be intrinsically evil. Yet I can very easily—these days—imagine a decision of our national government so appalling in its consequences for the world that the collapse of our government would be much the lesser evil. Within the limits of a situation in which the survival of the government were a legitimate end, I would subordinate my prudential judgment about means to that of the authorities (barring direct violation of God's law). That is what authority and obedience means. But when the survival of the government cannot be attained by any legitimate means (a situation which seems to me quite conceivable), an authority which exists only to preserve the government simply ceases to have meaning. Here my prudential judgment about the consequences of war takes priority over that of the government. Here the good of the human race takes precedence over the survival of my government, and my conscience, or your conscience, is the only thing left in the world to see that it does.

More Humane Warfare

This would not be an easy decision to make, not easy to argue, and above all not easy to implement. It lacks the simplicity, the motive power, and the advance preparation that can be mustered for the position that atomic war is intrinsically evil, or that war (or the threat of war) never accomplishes any good. But there could be other alternatives. It is not necessarily so that war gets more and more horrible. A new mode of warfare could conceivably be more effective than atomic warfare while being radically more humane. It seems to me a distinct possibility that chemical warfare could provide such a mode, and there is even an admittedly remote possibility that microbiological warfare could provide it.

To close our eyes and our minds to such a possibility, through fear of labels, is to deny the moral basis for the practical prosecution of a (presumably) just war. The use of minimum force is precisely that moral basis. The atomic bomb has made minimum force a mockery. It is a weapon so inefficient that it must destroy practically everything in order to achieve anything. Unless we are complete pacifists or completely amoral, we must see to the development of weapons which will surpass the atom bomb both in effectiveness and in efficiency, that is efficiency in achieving the minimum force necessary with the least destruction of human life and culture. This calls for a radical departure from the present trend of development. Chemical warfare could be the point of departure.

If we are to be prevented from doing what is more humane because the action has the connotation of being less humane, then humanity has been defeated by words. There is no doubt that world opinion is a force to be reckoned with (though the tempest seems to have simmered down), and I don't know how that situation is to be met. But it is a gruesome thought that we must gun down and burn people because it is cruel to nauseate them.

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JOSEPHINE TRUESCHLER

MAMMOTH HUNGER

Item: One pre-historic wooly mammoth
found frozen in Siberia with
buttercups in his mouth.

In an unnumbered cataclysmic moment
the earth heaved its weight of time
across a hemisphere.
The wooly mammoth fierce
and hairy and ivory-tusked
caught in the roaring change of worlds
was exiled and entombed
a million years
in the sunless snowfields of Siberia.

In the year of Our Lord 1960
he was uncovered by a climber's boot
perfect and dead
to time and all the ages of ennui.
Civilization clocked his history,
measured the duration of his snowy years –
but could not calculate
the noonday desire (which would explain)
the hunger to hold buttercups in the mouth.

In the year of Our Lord 1960
the dark fierceness of his reputation
fell away –
the brightness of buttercups
was in his mouth.

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APPALACHIA—BEYOND FREE ENTERPRISE

STEPHANIE HARRINGTON

Roy Newsome of Kona, Kentucky, is one of the millions who are buried in the isolation and poverty of Appalachia. And even now, nearly a year later, he may not know that for a brief moment he was stage center before a committee of this country's most exclusive club. Last June, while Newsome and his family were miles away from Washington D.C., they were "introduced" to the members of the Senate's Committee on Public Works during its hearings on the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

This figurative introduction was made by author Philip Stern (*The Great Treasury Raid*) who had been in eastern Kentucky gathering material for a photographic essay on contemporary poverty. Mr. Stern told the committee that he had come before it not as an expert, but as an observer who hoped to aid in its deliberations by "saying and showing something about the human side of Appalachia." He began with the Newsomes:

"Their shack, perched on the edge of a railroad track, is the home for seven people. There is Roy. He is 41 and an ex-miner. There is Lily, his wife, and their five children. The only reading material in this shack is the newspapers that paper the walls and ceiling. Their furniture consists of three beds, or more accurately, two beds and one crib, which are shared by seven people. Roy, Lily and the baby share one bed; two boys, James, ten, Roy, five, share another bed; the other two children, a girl, age eight, and another girl, age two . . . must squeeze themselves into the baby's crib at the foot of their parents' bed. There is electricity but no water. There is only one set of bedclothes. . . .

"We have heard it asked why people like Roy Newsome do not move away from depressed areas like eastern Kentucky to areas where there are prosperity and jobs. Of course, to Roy Newsome this is a purely academic question. He has only a fourth-grade education. He has worked in the mines ever since he was 14 years old. Today, the only work he knows has deserted him. Today, he finds sporadic work in a truck mine loading coal four or five days a week if he is lucky, but more often one or two days a week, sometimes no days. . . . such as last December when there was no work for over a month. Just about Christmas time James' teacher came to visit the Newsomes. Not only did she find no Christmas presents in that house; she found no food, not one mouthful of food in the Newsome household."

Five Years and Hundreds of Stories

And now, five years after John Kennedy campaigned in the human wasteland of West Virginia and came away conscious of the need to set up a Presidential task force on Appalachia—five years in which Americans told and retold themselves hundreds of stories of millions of Roy Newsomes in the depressed hollows of the Southern Mountains—we have at last a legislative blueprint called the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

What will the Appalachia Act, as it is more commonly known, do for Roy Newsome? For the short run, the answer is little, if anything. And this is the answer given not by the bill's detractors, but by the

STEPHANIE HARRINGTON, *a previous contributor, has written for the* Nation, THE Village Voice *and others.*

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men who are responsible for its existence and who will be involved in its application.

John L. Sweeney, Executive Director of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, told an Appalachian Trade Union Conference in October that "there are none of us within the Appalachia effort who conceived of this initially as a program which would in the short run make any inroads on the individual conditions of economic poverty in this country."

What the program is designed to do is to industrialize Appalachia, and to do so through three main efforts: "urbanizing" the region or providing it with the amenities and services (sewage, health facilities, roads, schools) and, as a result, the "improvement opportunities" of the cities; developing Appalachia's natural resources, its coal, timber, abundant water supply, and recreational and agricultural land, to invite outside investment; and coordinating all public and private development in the area to best promote the common good of the entire region.

"The Appalachian Program," says Sweeney, "is designed to provide that kind of investment which comes about when entrepreneurs have faith in their region to make an investment, following the traditional patterns of this country."

Trickling Down and Across

In other words, the Appalachia program is based on a free enterprise, entrepreneurial concept that can benefit Roy Newsome and the thousands of unemployed miners like him, who have been hardest hit by the decline of Appalachia, only through the gradual, long-range workings of the trickle-down process—if at all. And, under the Appalachia program, the trickle will have to work its way not only down through the existing layers of the region's economic structure but also geographically across the miles from core cities with the greatest potential for industrial development out to the depressed hinterlands.

For instance, the Act provides for HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) grants for up to 80 per cent of the cost of construction of "multi-county health facilities." But there are 18 million people in Appalachia living in over 300 counties in 11 states and the total appropriation for the construction of health facilities is only $41 million. This means the few hospitals that an appropriation of this size will allow must be strategically located to service a number of counties.

For the unemployed miner with no car who in an emergency has to travel perhaps forty miles to the nearest hospital, this will not be much of an improvement. One out-of-work miner wounded in a shooting accident found himself in just such a predicament. Because of the delay involved in getting to the nearest hospital equipped to treat the injury (a former United Mine Workers hospital that has been privately operated since the union program ran short of funds), he finally had to have his leg amputated. (And since the UMW hospitals have been in private hands stories have been coming out of Appalachia that are shockingly reminiscent of the old *L'il Abner* episode in which the nurse stood outside the hospital door barring the way to stretcher cases who couldn't put up collateral.)

This problem of distances, of workers trickling into core development areas so that income can trickle out to the isolated hollows, may have an unfortunate counter-effect on the benefits that new construction jobs can bring to Appalachia. Jerald Ter Horst, in *The Reporter* magazine, quoted Sweeney as saying that "most programs of economic help in the past have been based on the theory that a man has a right to a job where he lives and that government should help bring him that job. The Appalachia approach is that a man has a right to a job, but it is reasonable to expect him to be willing to commute to it or move to it if necessary."

Ter Horst goes on to say that "using a mile-a-minute yardstick, Appalachia planners think it logical to expect people to travel forty minutes to reach their places of employment, a vocational school, or even a hospital. Thus a core-city will encompass an area extending as far as forty miles from the center, crossing county and state boundaries when necessary." But there is still that instance when forty minutes plus the time it takes to find a car can cost a man his leg. And although the road building program provided in the Appalachia bill, which will receive by far the largest appropriation of any of the remedial efforts, does provide access roads to make this kind of commuting possible, what about the people who have no cars available to them?

In his testimony before the Public Works Committee, Stern noted that "in one respect Roy Newsome is fortunate: He has a car, and he can get to the truck mines when he is called for work. The same is not true of Clayton Turner, an ex-miner whose house clings to the edge of a hillside near Hazard, Kentucky. He has no car because he had to sell his. Incredible as it may seem, this family of ten, parents and eight children, survives on a total cash income of $20 a month. . . . Like Roy Newsome, Clayton Turner has spent his life in the coal mines, but there is very little work for him in that area. He cannot get there without a car even if work were offered him."

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Moreover, a community organizer reported on his return to New York after several months in Kentucky that many of the cars parked at construction sites in Kentucky when he was there bore out-of-state plates. "The local men who need jobs," he explained, "were trained to be miners, not skilled construction workers. So if a contractor from out of state gets a contract for, say, building a road in Kentucky, he brings his own skilled workers in with him, men he's worked with before and has confidence in. He can't take the time to retrain a coal miner." And without a massive job-generating public works program under which the demand for workers could come up to or even outstrip the trained supply—a program run not by private businesses whose capacity for massive retraining is limited by their need to show a profit—it is doubtful that any significant number of the region's thousands of unemployed will be restored to active participation in their society.

This same organizer was also pessimistic about the job-generating potential of a revitalized resort industry without the upgrading of service jobs generally. "Service jobs are about the lowest-paying work you can get wherever you go, and," he pointed out, "in Appalachia, where the entire economy is depressed, these jobs are even lower paid, if you can imagine it, than anywhere else. And most of these out-of-work miners are former union militants. They're proud men and skilled workers who are not inclined to take low-paying menial jobs. They walked out of the truck mines when the pay got down as low as three dollars a day in some of them."

Landowners, Operators, and Occupiers

This brings up a political problem which is one of the most serious drawbacks of the Appalachia Act. And that is that the people least in need will derive the most benefit from the entrepreneurial-oriented program and those most in need will get the least. Section 203 of the bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into ten-year land conservation agreements with "landowners, operators, and occupiers" under which these private parties are to receive financial assistance from the federal government. Section 204 authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to provide technical and financial assistance to private timber companies.

These landowners and timber merchants are obviously not among the most hard-pressed of Appalachia's citizens. Rather, they are members of what comfortable middle class still remains in the region. As such, they are also among those who wield local influence. And, it is, if one may resort to a much overused and abused term, the local power structures that in many areas of the Southern Mountains have been the worst enemies of the local miners. They, or their friends and business or political associates, are the ones who have pockmarked Appalachia with low-paying truck mines. They are the ones who locally administered the federal government's relief programs to reward the men who remained in the mines and punish the militants who walked the picket lines. And now they are the ones who will get what little direct financial assistance is provided in the bill.

Is there an alternative? The most compelling one has been urgently suggested by Harry Caudill, the Kentucky attorney who wrote *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*. In his testimony before the Senate Public Works Committee Caudill proposed an updated TVA approach based on the public development of Appalachia's water and coal resources into an indigenous power industry that could not only fuel local factories but could reap a profit through the long-distance transmission of low-cost power to other areas. On the question of public versus private investment Caudill points out that a private utility "would not turn back into the region funds to do the massive development necessary, such as has been accomplished in the western part of the United States by reclamation projects."

Works and Jobs

Not even Caudill's plan could bring immediate relief to the Roy Newsomes of Appalachia, but through such a public power-public works approach it is likely that more jobs would be generated more rapidly than through a program of long-range enticement of outside private investment. And it is certainly more likely that a public program could and would provide much more in the way of job training than a private profit venture. (There is no danger of duplicating the job training functions of the Economic Opportunity—"Anti-Poverty"—Act since the funds it provides for training programs

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for the whole country couldn't do the job in this one region. In fact, job training would be a vital area in which to reinvest the profits of an "Appalachian TVA" and could serve as an effective supplement to the operation of the War on Poverty in Appalachia.) And while it is doubtful that private investment alone will provide enough jobs to cope significantly with unemployment in Appalachia, it is possible that a massive public works program combined with the development of public power could bring the region's demand for labor in line with its current, largely idle supply. If labor is in demand it is not likely that local employers will deny any man a job because of his former union activity.

But even though this first Appalachia legislation offers little to the Roy Newsomes, it would be a mistake to write off the undertaking at this point. Like the Economic Opportunity Act, the Appalachia program is admittedly only a beginning—a fact recognized by sincere and capable administrators like John Sweeney. More than that, it provides an important framework for future laws. The fetish of state lines is transcended and Appalachia is recognized as an economic and political unit which is a fit and necessary subject for planning. And this means that the changes in concept and program which must come if people like Newsome are to be reached, changes which must move in the direction outlined by Caudill, will have a regional structure already prepared to receive them. And then our social intelligence can reach beyond the businessmen.

Possibilities of a Communist-Christian dialogue

MARXISM WITHOUT ATHEISM?

MARCEL REDING

Although there is growing agreement throughout the world that peaceful coexistence is now a necessity—if only for survival—many activists in Church and state still see no point in discussing it on the level of theory; because they feel that, on this level, the opposing positions are irreconcilable. In the West, in particular, the view is widely held that genuinely peaceful co-existence in the things of the mind is impossible so long as world Communism believes in its universal mission. And, of course, Communism would no longer be viable were it to cease to believe in its truth and its mission, just as America could not subsist without faith in its ideals and its mission.

Is peaceful co-existence (as opposed to a temporary tolerance based on fear) really possible, if Western and Eastern beliefs and ideals are on the one hand necessarily, and on the other radically, opposed? Before answering this, it might be well to examine this opposition of ideals more closely, to see if it is as radical as we suppose.

Obviously, the most important of the many conflicts between East and West, so far as the Christian conscience is concerned, is the relationship of Communism and Christianity. In this area, the only coexistence practiced so far has taken the form of a chilly, pragmatic tolerance—and even this has been a big improvement, after years of outright, sometimes bloody, persecution. At best, Christians in the Communist world are now despised as backward-looking, and placed at various disadvantages. Since they are unable to accept certain fundamental tenets of Marxism, their lot at the hands of the Communist states is inevitably a hard one, and no serious attempt has been made to examine the theoretical problems with a view to reaching an understanding, because on either side it has been taken for granted, or propagated with studied zeal, that the philosophical contradictions are irreconcilable.

The question of irreconcilability must be thoroughly explored. Between the extremes of complete irreconcilability on the one hand, and on the other the Christianization of Marxism or the Marxification of Christianity, there exists a whole kaleidoscope of possible relationships.

The radical opposition between Christians and Communists is based fundamentally on Marxist atheism. The problem of atheism is therefore the most important and also the apparently most hopeless of solution, because it does seem most unlikely that Marxism will yield any new positions in this area, while Christians,

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for their part, find it utterly impossible to make even the slightest concessions in the matter. Marxism by its nature appears necessarily atheistic, the absolute negation of Christianity, to the point where the victory of the one would be the death of the other.

Now any fruitful discussion of the problem of atheism must not proceed from any watering down of the essence of Christianity or Marxism, any sacrifice of basic convictions. An opportunistic, arbitrary adjustment of Christian or Marxist views to contemporary trends for pragmatic reasons could only obstruct a genuine understanding. But is atheism as essential to Marxism as is belief in God to Christianity?

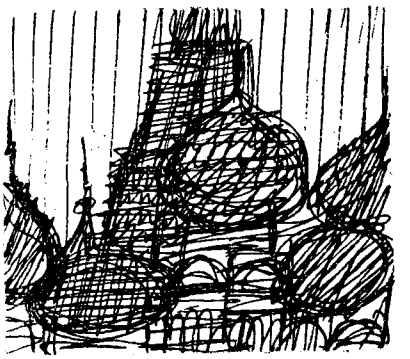
Base and Superstructure

In answering this most basic question, the point to determine is not whether Marxism is in fact atheistic, or whether the founders and exponents of Marxism were atheists, but whether atheism follows necessarily from the essence of Marxism. This requires a knowledge not of specific features of the doctrine as it has been expounded in practice, but of the essence, of the sources. What is its essence, and is it related to atheism?

The notion of alienation is central to Marx's early thought. In the Hegelian view, man alienates himself from his own being through thought, through the split between subject and object, which reason overcomes. In Marx's view, it is not thought but work, work adulterated in different ways in different eras, which alienates man from himself. Under the capitalist form of production, it is wage labor that alienates the worker from himself, because the product of his work is appropriated by capitalists. This work, the activity which, in each case, brings with it its own superstructure of law, ethics, cultural forms etc., is the driving force of historical development. The relationship of base and superstructure herein involved explains the historical development of mankind toward socialism.

In his famous introduction to his critical study of political economy, Marx characterized the law of historical development, the relation between base and superstructure, as the keystone of his thinking. Friedrich Engels confirmed this in his address at Karl Marx's grave; he saw the discovery of this law as his friend's great achievement:

"As Darwin discovered the law governing the development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law governing the development of human history; the simple fact, obscured by ideological rank growth, that men have to be able to eat, drink, shelter and clothe themselves before they can can engage in politics, science, art, religion and so on, so that the production of the immediate material necessities of life, and with it the current stage of economic development of a people or an era, creates the base from which the political institutions, legal concepts, art and even religious ideas of the people concerned have arisen, and by which they must therefore be explained—not, as hitherto, the reverse."



Marx and Engels continued to reflect on this historical law to the end of their lives. Marx, particularly in his drafts for an introduction to a critical study of political economy, sought to analyze the philosophical premises of his principle: that if that principle was to have any validity at all, there must be some enduring nucleus in work, in production, in man. Feeling that these writings were insufficiently matured, Marx did not have them published.

Engels frequently pointed out, particularly in his correspondence, that the law of base and superstructure must be correctly understood and applied (a precept which many Marxists ignore). Neither Marx nor Engels regarded the application as simple. The difficulty of explaining Greek art as the superstructure of a society with relatively simple conditions of production, the hold which Roman law achieved on Western legal thought, the conviction that the Communist society is the first to develop the true human ethic which will never fall away as a superstructure—all these are factors which might have led the founders of Marxism to a more subtle analysis of the law of history.

Since Stalin's letter on linguistics, the public at large has been advised concerning the reality of language, which is to be regarded as a historical force which is neither base nor superstructure. The rules of logic do not appear to be determined by the base either, and ideally, art, law, ethics and religion should have been examined from that angle to establish the extent of their dependence upon, or independence of, the base. Too little has been done in that direction. With regard to religion, in particular, Marx's early critique is taken for granted as the only position in the matter, without

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reflecting that it signifies an application of the principle of base and superstructure at a level of thought which Marx himself later re-examined critically, and which today should be regarded as even more open to debate. So long as these pressing problems are not thoroughly aired, there can be no question of atheism necessarily following from the essence of Marxism.

It is true, of course, that Marx was an atheist all his life, and that atheism can be linked with the law of history. But atheism does not necessarily follow from this law of history, which is still insufficiently developed and explored. In his atheism, Marx was a child of his times. He was a "co-religionist" of the more educated classes of the nineteenth century, whose thinking might also be explained and placed in context in the light of Marx's historical law.

Many of Marx's statements are atheistic. His atheism is also apparent in many of his philosophical ideas, which in themselves, however, are not specifically Marxist at all. The idea that man is self-generating early brought Marx into contact with the scientific theories of his day, according to which the earth is self-generating, and later with Darwinism. Such thought processes receive their more specifically Marxist stamp only in relation with the law of base and superstructure, and with it they receive their own "problematic."

Many other themes in Marxism remain atheistic, or at least anti-clerical, for instance the theme that the Churches are reactionary, that they are the bulwarks of antiquated social orders. To the extent that groups belonging to the Church misuse God in order to perpetuate unjust conditions as though they were willed by God, Marx's argument is right; but the argument is wrong in ascribing such attitudes to religious faith itself.

Atheism follows unequivocally from the essence of Marxism, from the law of base and superstructure, only if it is definitively proved that all forms of superstructure—law, ethics, art, religion—are exclusively the product of that base. But this is neither proved, nor does it follow from the critical commentaries of the founders of Marxism on the problem of base and superstructure. And this means that the problem of religion and atheism necessarily remains open. To refuse to recognize this denotes a strange dogmatism, altogether alien to Marxism.

The dialogue introduced with these remarks, which could certainly be marked by many "ifs" and "ands" and "buts," could reopen the debate on the problem of Marxism, atheism and the Churches, and thereby open a new phase in the co-existence of East and West, raising it to a higher level.

BOYS ON THE ROAD

THE SCREEN

Two lines from an old Lapland song, "A boy's will is the wind's will,/ And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts," which Longfellow repeats at the end of each stanza of "My Lost Youth," inspired the title of Robert Frost's first book of poems. Although I doubt it, the lines may also have inspired the producers of a group of films now on our screens. In any case, these movies about young people may prompt a few "long, long thoughts" worth thinking.

Gayest and most poetic of the group is "The Fool Killer," which is based on Helen Eustis's imaginative and suspenseful novel about the adventures of a twelve-year-old orphan after he runs away from his mean foster parents. Along with the amusing and scary aspects of the absorbing story, director Servando Gonzalez has added some nice nature touches as the boy hits the open road; but most important are the characters the lad meets on his way — characters well developed by Gonzalez — the good script, and exceptional cast.

Henry Hull is excellent as an ancient codger who can't remember if he's 70 or 80 or 90, but is as playful as a kid while he revels in his freedom from a clean woman and tells the boy the legend of the Fool Killer, a tall bogey man who goes about chopping down fools. Anthony Perkins is fine too as the young amnesiac who has been wandering around in a fog since he was wounded in the Civil War but who, in spite of his anti-social ideas about towns and people, becomes a hero to the boy. Edward Albert plays the running-searching adolescent with a mixture of sophistication and boyish wonderment that fit the unusual tale. He idolizes Perkins but loses him when a rabid revivalist preacher is murdered.

It's hard to say why "The Fool Killer" is so appealing. Its characters are fascinating; and you find yourself hoping the boy will finally find a home. Sandwiched between the horror scenes are quiet words of wisdom. Perhaps the film's greatest charm is in its lack of pretension. No epic this, just a good little movie about a boy's will.

Another little film, but more realistic and disturbing than "The Fool Killer," is "Nobody Waved Goodbye," made by the National Film Board of Canada. Directed

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Relevance

Doubtless you share the concern of many Americans over the escalation in Vietnam; you will therefore find the discussion of that crisis in this issue much to the point. Are you likewise concerned about the morality of resort to the latest weapons? Read Julian Pleasants on the subject in this issue. And how about the war on poverty and its first engagements in Appalachia? See what Stephanie Harrington has to say about the program in this May 7 issue.

If you are also concerned about the Negro's struggle in the South, you should have read Daniel Berrigan's and Max Stackhouse's accounts of their experiences in the Selma march in our April 9 issue and Bardwell L. Smith's report on Mississippi in the April 2 issue.

Or take certain key problems of Catholic education: whether parochial schools are the only answer, the role and vocation of the teaching Brother, and whether laymen actually cost schools and parishes more than teaching Religious. Our special Easter Week, National Catholic Education issue, April 23, offered convincing views on these aspects of the subject.

You might also bear in mind such recent Commonweal features as Hans Küng on the Future of the Council, Justus George Lawler on the Problem of Priests in the World, William Pfaff on the Congo, James Douglass on the Council and the Bomb, and Wilfrid Sheed on "Growing up Catholic."

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and written by Don Owen, who also produced with Roman Kroitor, this picture was done on a small budget; but it makes up for the absence of stars and elaborate sets by sincerity of theme and good cinema. It tells the story of a juvenile delinquent in a style that is a mixture of documentary and near-soap-opera. In spite of occasional cliches, it is an unusual story about a delinquent: this boy comes from a "good" middle-class family; and when Peter cuts classes at high school to spend the day with Julie, he seems to be just an average boy out on a lark.

But the steps going down for Peter, and to a lesser extent for Julie too, become steeper as the boy's rebellion gets out of hand. He "borrows" his father's new car, sasses the Probation Officer when he's arrested. His rebelling is not entirely without cause, as we realize when we see his bickering mother and father in this "good" family. The boy knows he doesn't want "a comfortable life with middle-class security," but he never states what he does want. Peter Kastner and Julie Biggs play the lead roles well, and the supporting cast contribute their bits effectively. The simple black-and-white photography of Toronto adds to the film's realism, which is further heightened by the script's offering no solution or pat conclusions. The finale is heart-breaking. Perhaps because there is no easy moralizing, "Nobody Waved Goodbye" succeeds more than most films in its plea for understanding and love in the parent-child relationship.

Since we first saw him as a little kid on the stage in "Member of the Wedding" and in the movie, "Shane," Brandon de Wilde, now 24, has grown into a good performer—as the confused youth in "Hud," the snobbish officer of "In Harm's Way," and the likable, shy backwoods trapper in the new Disney opus, "Those Calloways." The latter, less sticky than the usual Disney nature picture, is based on Paul Annixter's thoughtful novel, *Swiftwater*, a tale of a family determined to protect wild geese. As the father and mother, Brian Keith and Vera Miles give outstanding performances that add considerably.

Hayley Mills has grown up well too, and she's quite an engaging young woman in "The Truth About Spring," in which she plays a willful back-to-nature brat. The fault is not exactly Spring's. The girl was raised by a free-thinking father (played to the hilt by Hayley's own father, John Mills) who doesn't approve of formal education or conventions of any sort. But now that Spring is 18, papa realizes that complete freedom has its drawbacks. So he invites a young

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Philadelphia lawyer (James MacArthur) for a trip on his fishing boat—with the hope that James can do something about Spring. He does. And she does. I suspect that this bit of fluff will appeal mainly to teenage girls; but perhaps the good cast and the handsome color photography of Spain and the sea will win other audiences too.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

AMEN, AMEN

THE STAGE

Changes of fashion are sometimes easy to miss. The trousers keep getting an inch shorter every season, and it is only years later when your grandchildren discover the funny snapshots that you realize what this can add up to over a lifetime.

For instance, "Amen Corner" by James Baldwin, which was written in 1953, and already comes on like a cloche hat or a feather boa. It would be hard to pinpoint a given moment when this kind of play went out of date; a shift in taste must have occurred somewhere between Eisenhower and Johnson — a shift in which Baldwin has played a significant part.

1953 was the heyday of the tense-family-drama. In the theater as in life, the private sector was booming, and the public sector was nowhere. All the big domestic problems had been solved. The depression was over and civil rights had barely arisen. Social concern was vague and stunted (were you now or had you ever been . . . ?). To an unprecedented degree, Americans were turned in on themselves. Inspirational books were bullish, parlor freudianism was all the rage. People talked parents and childhoods into the small hours. Girls said, "He seems aggressive, but he's really a very shy person." William Inge seemed like a major playwright.

In 1953, it was still possible to write lines like the following: "What are you running away from?" "Myself, I guess." "I've never known what it means to be loved." "To be loved you've first got to love yourself, son." "I never really knew my father." "What's *happening* to us" and so on. (These don't appear in Baldwin's play, but they might as well have.) The whole nation seemed like a great sickroom. Movie actresses said things like, "I really think I've found myself in the last year, Sid" — and soon this would filter down to your own neighborhood and everybody would be saying it. With no Selma to go to, no poverty to war on, there was nothing much better to do.

Even in those days, James Baldwin had the makings of a distinguished writer, and there are some original things in "Amen Corner." But it is interesting to note how much he was still in thrall to the clichés of the period. There is a father-son scene that could easily be a parody of all such scenes. Everything is there: the recognition of manhood ("I'm — you're, he's — not a little boy anymore. He's, I'm, you're a *man*" Thelma Lou, how you done growed); the you've-got-to-live-your-own-life gambit and the search-for-your-real-self ploy. Or remember this one? "Where were you when we needed you, daddy?" "Well I'm here *now*, son." (They embrace madly.) And then on and on about love and self and self and love, the one the antidote for the other: self-improvement without cause or context.

What makes the play interesting is its disclosure that in 1953, even James Baldwin had nothing better to offer than this arid doctrine. In the first act, we come upon the young Negro hero (Art Evans) struggling in the toils of his mother's revivalist religion. This religion is presented as escape pure-and-simple: celestial happy juice that takes away the poverty and indignity of being a Negro for a few hours at least. The old Marxist critique, and Baldwin lays it on thick and funny.

Enter the outside world: the boy's father (Frank Silvera) comes staggering in, a man made wise by suffering and a heap of living. Here comes the message—some plan of political or social action, some challenge thrown at the white man — but what do we get? The same religion of self that is playing in the white man's theater, the same cant about love and self-knowledge, thinking-man's Pealism, directed to no end beyond itself.

It is clear now, although it was probably not so clear then, that this sentimental mishmash must have been almost as illusory for a young Negro as his mother's pie-in-the-sky was, as well as a good deal less attractive. It might have brought personal relief but it

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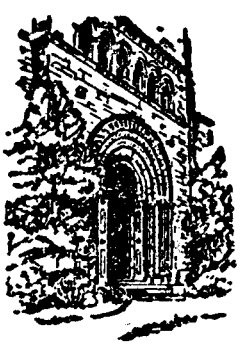

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solved no real problems. This religion, call it self-help-in-a-social-vacuum, had been taken up by the white man as a therapeutic hobby because real social action (it seems fantastic now) had lost its urgency, and the only big problems left were private ones.

If a Negro took it up too, it was for the opposite reason: it was because social action was blocked. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* belongs to this period. Nobody knew or cared whether the Negro believed in himself, or in Father Divine, or in Mickey Mouse. This was in 1953. In 1954, the Supreme Court made its integration decision, and the painfully slow, inch a year shift in taste may have begun soon after that.

Incidentally "Amen Corner" has the makings of an excellent Molieresque farce about church politics. Whitman Mayo, as a two-faced vestryman, holds up this end of things splendidly. But Baldwin was still at the copying stage and he allowed his original material to be submerged in the conventions of the moment. The result is an old photograph of quite some quaintness, but no power whatever. (*At the Barrymore*)

WILFRID SHEED

BOOKS

A tautology that is not a tautology

Honesty in the Church

DANIEL CALLAHAN

Scribners, $3.95

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM

Suppose for a moment that Daniel Callahan had written a manuscript entitled *Honesty in American Society* and that its message could be summed up thus: "It is all right to think and to say what you think. In fact, it is obligatory." If he had done so—and had found a publisher, which is unlikely—no one would proclaim him the courageous spokesman of a new generation. "Elderly bore" would be the more probable verdict.

Surely it is a measure of Catholic failure that there is excitement in Callahan's title and urgency in his message. What should be tautology—"honesty befits Christians and Christianity"—is subject for controversy. An author whose approach is judiciously analytic provides his readers with the thrill of prophecy.

Roman Catholic dishonesty is a somewhat special case, since much of it springs not from failure in rectitude but from a particular world view. What looks like dishonesty when one applies Anglo-Saxon standards is not dishonesty within the quite different cultural framework of the institutional Church. Take the rule of secrecy that was supposed to shroud the schemas and debates of Vatican II. Secrecy is part of the Roman way; it was imposed on the council chiefly because candor—a function of honesty—was not even considered. Those who set up the regulations did not reject openness; they did not know what openness was.

Equally important was this fact: the words of the regulations governing secrecy did not yet have meaning; they would gain meaning only through action. After the council had opened and prelates and *periti* began to reveal what was being said within the aula, they could not be accused of dishonesty. Rather, in the delightful phrase of René Laurentin, the rules were being "interpreted with a broad-mindedness appropriate to the grandeur of the occasion." In the event, the obligation to secrecy meant the right to tell all. The apparent departure from the canons of honesty was simply an example of how the Church institutional actually works.

Whether such a culture remains viable now that the Church is no longer a self-enclosed society is another question entirely. Certainly, if a considerable number of Catholics join Callahan in applying to the institution other criteria than its own, estrangement between Catholics and the system will grow.

Such estrangement need not be destructive of Church unity, though it will be if hostility (however psychologically understandable) become confused with the process. Let me, for the sake perhaps of honesty, give a personal example. I would be delighted to read an encyclical called *A Syllabus of Vatican Errors*. It would exempt priests from the anti-modernist oath, apologize to Calvin as well as Luther, praise secular realizations of Christian morality; its style would be John Courtney Murray simplified instead of Cicero run amuck. All would be healed in twenty-thousand words or less.

Yet I know that this encyclical will never appear. Further, I suspect that, insofar as I wish it to be published, I am evading my own autonomy and asking the pope to exercise it in my stead—a ploy that yields the warm comfort of blaming Catholic failure on him instead of on myself. I can then become angry with him and accuse the institution—instead of reforming myself, thinking my thoughts, and taking my action.

Less easy is the estrangement that permits tension. Its assertions would run something like this: the Church is my spiritual community and so inseparably part of my person; one aspect

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of the Church is its institutional form which, however deplorable I may find it, is also a part of myself; I (together with those members of my spiritual community most immediately present to me) have the task of eradicating in myself whatever is objectionable in institutional Catholicism. In application, those assertions would lead a historian to write objectively concerning the Reformation, a philosopher to explore creatively the relationship between matter and spirit, and a dogmatist to face squarely the historicity of the New Testament. It would also lead a Daniel Callahan to write *Honesty in the Church* in precisely the way he has, in tones of unfailing politeness and in the spirit of concerned inquiry.

"Public dishonesty in the Church," Callahan says, "is designed to conceal the truth from others. Private dishonesty is designed to conceal the truth from oneself." The child learns that disobedience to the Church incurs the severest penalties. To doubt a truth of the faith is sinful and the truths of the faith are presented as if each were offered with the same divine guarantees. The speculative (and sometimes gnostic) doctrines of angelology are often taught as if they had the same importance and the same degree of certitude as the Resurrection. The Resurrection is often presented as if there were no mystery involved, no legitimate questions concerning the structure of the glorified body.

To think about angels and to think about the Lord's resurrected body are activities that evoke the inward experience of doubt. (The distinction between difficulties and doubts is logical but not existential.) The experience feels like sin and every trained Catholic knows what to do about that: he avoids its occasion by the simple expedient of avoiding thought. Repression creates a dishonesty that says in effect, "I firmly believe in something at which I dare not look."

Private honesty in the Church demands that the individual member confront the actual state of his own faith. Here, the man who sees himself as static and his faith as a possession may find the burden too great to bear. For if I will always be what I am now, I will always find meaningless many things that are important in Christian history. If my faith is something that (in Callahan's apt simile) I can lose like the keys to my car, I have probably lost it already and might just as well turn in my scapular and rosary.

Man is, of course, a developing creature; to be myself today I must not be what I was yesterday. Faith is a vital becoming: it evolves as I confront Gregory of Nyssa, Blondel, or a nun who may leave her convent. It may so evolve that I seem now to deny all that I once believed. Callahan describes the process when he says that honesty will find its norm in "one's frankness in admitting the facts at hand." There are pain and uncertainty in the one constant—the inevitability that the facts will change.

But is this tolerable? Callahan emphasizes that, "Honesty is a relational concept, its practical meaning wholly determined by the context in which those faced with a choice of honesty or deceit find themselves." Right now, few Catholics have a context within which they can discuss the meaning of such central doctrines as the Real Presence or the holiness of the Church. Or, more accurately, they are not aware of the limited context they do have. The Church as a community and as an institution is remarkably and paradoxically permissive. Rather than yearn for permission to talk about infallibility, I would suggest that more Catholics go ahead and do so.

Until Catholics create a full context for honesty, doubts and uncertainties will remain deracinating. We think in community, and without a community of thought each question sentences the thinker to isolation. And here is the great, good grace of *Honesty in the Church*. It contributes to the description of an open, inquiring community that men can give flesh. Once we have that community in tangible form, extraordinary things are possible. We may even become the body of Christ.

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The Book of Ammon

AMMON HENNACY

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EMILE CAPOUYA

Ammon Hennacy calls himself a one-man revolution, and the record supports his claim. He has the necessary resources for single-handed and permanent *insurrection*, at any rate—a ticklish conscience, ready indignation, a quick tongue, unlimited courage, and great tactical inventiveness. Very likely, those gifts improved with exercise. On his own showing he was merely sensitive and plucky when he refused to register for the draft in 1917. The other virtues were added to him by the sentence he drew in Atlanta Penitentiary, and particularly by the months of solitary confinement spent in that odd seminary.

For intellectual and spiritual nourishment in his dark hole he had a Bible; the authorities took it away and gave him another printed in smaller type. In the next cell, a Bulgarian doing a life-sentence was hanged up by the wrists to the cell bars eight hours every day. Indignities and torments heaped upon a defenseless man can drive him to suicide. Mr. Hennacy sharpened his spoon for the purpose, but delayed killing himself long enough to remember that the anarchist, Alexander Berkman, a fellow-prisoner at Atlanta, had spent two years in solitary and never weakened.

That was Mr. Hennacy's rebirth. He died to the dream of brotherhood in violent revolution and was born to the dream of non-violent resistance. Given his temperament, he was bound to make his personal variety of non-violent Catholic anarchism just as embarrassing to Church and State as full-time and conscientious application of his principles could manage. Since our taxes support war and war-industry, Mr. Hennacy pays no taxes. Moreover, he advertises that he pays no taxes. He informs the tax-collector and the public of his settled policy, and invites them to join him in refusing to subsidize murder. To make sure that taxes are not deducted from his wages, he works at stoop-labor, paid by the hour—or did into his early seventies. And finds time to distribute the *Catholic Worker*, to picket and fast publicly for civil rights and the abolition of capital punishment, to make epic journeys throughout the country under his own steam, and generally to work on the book of his life so as to make of it something heartening and exemplary.

Mr. Hennacy's literary style is garrulous and innocently self-centered like that of a talker who pauses only for your nod or assenting noise, and then presses on with his life-story. The wonder is that in Mr. Hennacy's case, the effect is infinitely touching and attractive. What price art when artlessness works so much better? His doctrine and example, on the other hand, call for something more than affectionate condescension. Setting aside the question of personal courage, what is the conscientious radical to make of Mr. Hennacy's central insight—that we use no violence, and as far as possible, no positive sanctions or penalties of any kind in resisting evil and encouraging the good?

Every intelligent man knows that a benevolent and cheerful anarchism is the ideal condition for society, even as it is the practical condition right at this moment of many a voluntary association. The difficulty is that anarchism so conceived presupposes, on the national and international scale, a very high level of cultivation and sympathetic imagination. How are we to reach that level?

Mr. Hennacy says, by the contagion of personal example, by exhortation, by absolute refusal to collaborate in injustice ourselves. When such an attitude has become general, anarchism will in fact prevail. But those who are political activists in the more conventional sense argue that if it were not for the existence of a coercive government, Dr. Martin Luther King, for instance, would long ago have been lynched. To which Mr. Hennacy might reply that the existence of a coercive government is precisely the condition for Dr. King's protest and his white neighbors' outrage

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—that the government is the highest expression of those very relations of competition and enmity that subject the Negro to social injustice.

In honesty, I think we must allow as much, but the question may be somewhere else. Given the existence of coercive governments everywhere, incarnating and perpetuating injustice, what are we to do right now so as to improve matters in the shortest possible time? I happen to be comfortable, except in the moral sense, but other people are being murdered, and still others are sincerely hungry. Faced with such problems, the politically-minded can never get beyond the necessity for the exercise of coercive power, at least in the short run, as a means of defending the future against the programs and actions of the recalcitrantly ill-intentioned, or of those who simply find their account in the present unjust state of affairs, and, albeit without personal malice, calmly profit by the suffering of others—do what they can, indeed, to see that that profitable suffering continues.

Accordingly, the classic revolutionary always thinks first in terms of seizing power, so that he may turn that power to other uses. But Mr. Hennacy preaches the dissipation of that power, urging that men withdraw as individuals from their collaboration with the body ot this death, and start at once to entertain the kind of relations with their neighbors that they hold to be ideally desirable—cooperation in place of competition, charity in place of self-seeking.

The defect of the political approach, to speak without softening matters, is that it has always reduced its adherents to the level of their opponents. (I refer, of course, to the revolutionary political approach; the evolutionary one, so-called, is a moral nullity, and accounts for the parallel progress in morality and depravity that man has been achieving throughout history.) The defect of Mr. Hennacy's is that it does not work. These are broad and insensitive formulations, but true in the main. Since we must nevertheless honor Mr. Hennacy's intransigent virtue—the feeling comes unbidden—the best thing is to resolve to adopt what we can of his spirit while pursuing political ends.

The one-man revolution is reduced in practice to combating successive instances of injustice as they arise, and makes no effectual assault upon the general system that begets injustice—such as the criminal goings-on in Vietnam—as a function of its ordinary operations. Mr. Hennacy would deny the charge, pointing out that he withholds his share of the tax fund from the state. If all did so, there would be no war in Vietnam. To disallow his reasoning is to make an ugly calculation that men will not in fact imitate Mr. Hennacy in significant numbers, and a certain onus necessarily attaches to him who makes it. Nevertheless, I think we must acknowledge that the one-man revolution cannot speedily put an end to war, or rescue the Negro from exploitation. We are not gods but men, and must work within a human time-scale. And that means taking up again the dangerous instrument of political revolution, forewarned and chastened by Ammon Hennacy's testimony.

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The story is laid in coastal Georgia in the years following World War II and the basic plot is a simple one. Two returning GI's, one Negro the other white, come back to their small adjacent farms and the drama revolves around their efforts to come to terms with each other and save their property from Yankee Big Business and local greed and duplicity. You can hardly expect to be surprised by the outcome, but the Gildens do a really amazing job of detailing the struggle.

South Georgia could be reconstructed from the Gildens' record—right down to the flora and fauna—everything from cracker shacks to Yankee millionaire palaces, and the entire local population. Better novelists than the Gildens could learn a lot from them in terms of vivid characterization and the value of convincing detail. And the basic story itself (Bert's contribution) is an unexceptionable one, if sentimental in its conception. There is not even an unalloyed happy ending.

The fault, rather, lies in the gushing style of the writing. The right word, even the brilliant word, is usually there, but it is lost in the inflated verbiage. This defect can be said to begin in the book even before page one. Many novels of contemporary relevance have a little legal disclaimer to the effect that the work is entirely fictional and "any resemblance to actual persons, living or dead, etc." Usually this disclaimer is a brief sentence in 6-point type, hidden on the copyright page. The Gildens' disclaimer takes up a whole page and is adorned with a quotation from Thomas Mann. This inflation continues throughout the next thousand pages.

And sometimes it actually works. This is especially true in the sections of the novel dealing with the lives of the farmers and townsfolk of Arcady, whose circumstances and histories are recounted in awesome detail. At other times it becomes hilarious. The following excerpt from a section in which Miss Julie-Ann Colfax Warren visits Herron's Nest, once her family's plantation but now the seat of the all-powerful Herron-Elwell clan, may suggest something of the heady charm:

"Remarking Julie at last they lowered their voices and moved off to Elwell's desk at the head of the room. . . . Mencken took Elwell's high-backed leather chair and eyeing Gilmore airily reached for the telephone.

"'Oak Ridge . . .'

"Exhilarated and appalled. Dizzied, dazed, demolished, groping for what had brought her here . . .

"'Cheops. Chicken Itza.'

"Elwell, hands in pockets, sauntered into the center of the room, whimsically looking up at the spectacular forty-foot mural of the dam. 'I sometimes like to think of myself as a poet manqué. But whenever I confront this I know that here is the poetry, the art of our time. This is our creative surge. Nothing less.'

'It takes my breath away,' Julie said with a crystalline distinctness that carried from one end of the room to the other. 'If there is such a thing as being awe-struck, I am it.' She hurried to Elwell's side in a turmoil of loyalty, and yes, love, adulation. 'Feel.' She touched his hand. 'I'm shaking. That I should trouble you with things so personal in the middle of all this . . .'

"Elwell pressed her hand warmly. 'Not at all. You point a moral and adorn a tale. It haunted me half the night. Do you mind if I use you as a symbol and source of morale at a time when I need it badly?'

"Magnificent.' In a roseate glow Mencken hastened towards them. 'Up at TVA the big mistake we made was underestimating power needs.'"

Well, of course, this level cannot be sustained for one thousand pages and most of the book is rather more pedestrian. In a sense all of the book (with the possible exception of Herron's Nest) is very "real." The farms are real, the courthouse is real, the lost deed is real, the tractor is real, even the characters are real in the sense that you can see them in Technicolor. The effect is something like that of Faulkner translated to the screen, with all that is essentially Faulkner removed.

The characters are as real as Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward, and of course Sidney Poitier, and even old

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Ed Begley if he's still around as the Judge, and . . . well, let's wait and see. They might even get Liz as Miss Julie-Ann! Wouldn't that be something! Of course they'll have to eliminate the dynamiting and the flood at the end to keep Paul sympathetic but otherwise everything is all set up. It might even be a pretty good picture with all that beautiful prose eliminated.

Felix Frankfurter, the Judge

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A Supreme Court Justice is Appointed

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WILLIAM H. DEMPSEY, JR.

Our perverse habit of becoming more curious about a public figure after he has died than when he is alive will probably generate a wave of interest in books about Mr. Justice Frankfurter. Moreover, the extraordinary obituary tributes paid Frankfurter—there seemed to be few that did not regard him as one of the outstanding jurists of the century and some evidently shared Dean Acheson's view that there is "no one in our times remotely comparable to him" — may sharpen that interest.

What makes these evaluations especially arresting is the fact that, since Frankfurter's retirement, the Court has overturned a number of the decisions that represented the most notable products of his judicial philosophy. That philosophy, in most general terms, was an important part of the principles of deference by the judiciary to the Congress—"separation of powers"—and deference by the *federal* judiciary to *state* governmental organs — "federalism."

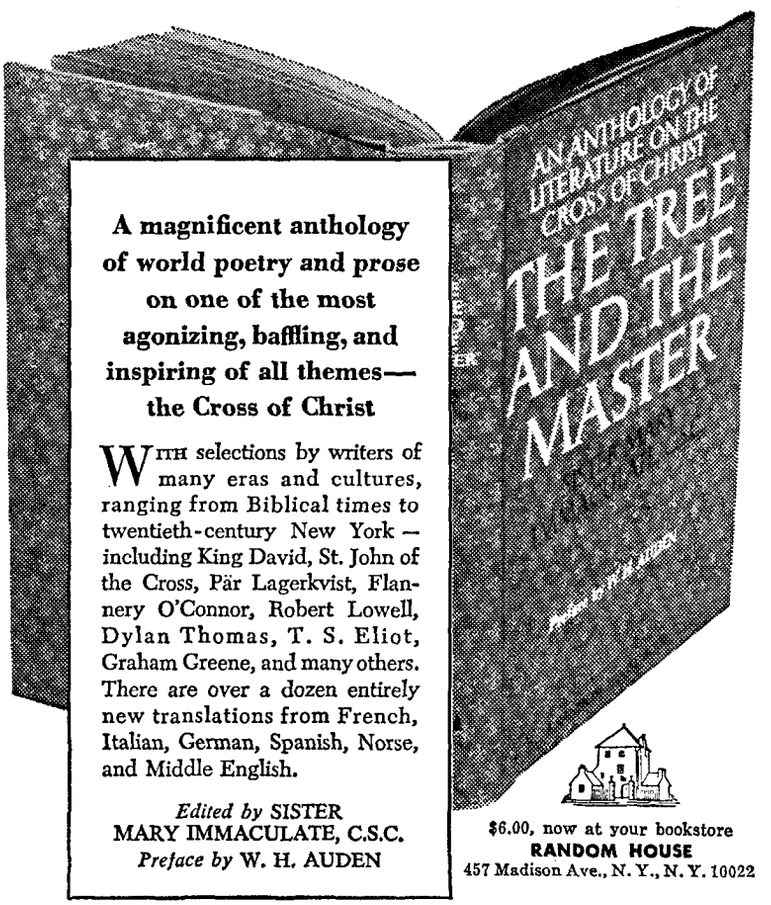
Before Frankfurter joined the Court in 1939, the doctrine of judicial restraint in testing the validity of economic and social legislation had finally been established after a long and bitter doctrinal debate, culminating in the Court's dramatic turnabout at the time of Roosevelt's ill-starred "court packing" plan. Since then, the constitutional right of the legislature to experiment broadly in the socio-economic area has been unquestioned.

The controversy that has engaged the Court in recent years has been whether the principle of judicial restraint should play as important a role where what is at stake is a claim based upon personal rights, such as free speech, rather than a claim based upon property rights.

In this dispute, Frankfurter was a sore disappointment to those who expected him to reflect on the Court the liberal views he had expressed so eloquently as a professor and a government servant. Not only was he no judicial civil libertarian, but, by virtue of his brilliance, learning, and force of personality, he was the principal opponent of a liberal minority that, during his tenure, frequently lacked but a vote of being a majority.

The moorings began coming loose, however, during Frankfurter's last year on the Court, and after his retirement the Court veered sharply away from the ground to which he had held it for so long. Thus, for example, in quick succession the Court overruled three prior decisions with the result that now every criminal defendant in state courts must be represented by an attorney; evidence seized by an unconstitutional search and seizure may not be introduced in state prosecutions; and congressional districts and state legislatures must be apportioned on the basis of population.

Of course, everyone makes his own guess as to how this controversy will come out in the long run. Frankfurter's judgment was that the Court, by intruding into areas in which it lacked competence and by antagonizing other branches of government, would suffer. Many, on the other hand, believe that the Court will gain stature through its leadership in redeeming civil rights. In any event, the least that can be said is that, at the moment, in the area of constitutional debate in which Frankfurter



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played his most distinctive role, his star is in eclipse.

Felix Frankfurter, the Judge contributes to an understanding of this central role of Frankfurter on the Court, but it has its limitations. The essays are the careful work of outstanding scholars —Professors Sutherland, Jaffe, Kadish, Henkin, and Nathanson, and Judge Friendly—but, on the whole, scholars who are warm supporters of Frankfurter, so that one must turn elsewhere to gain a fully balanced view. Moreover, many of the subjects are too technical to be of general interest—Frankfurter on administrative law, on labor law, on statutory construction. (There is, however, a delightful personal essay by Andrew Kaufman, a former law clerk to Frankfurter.) Still, the book can, for the reader with sufficient legal training and energy, significantly deepen his appreciation of the character of Frankfurter's judicial product.

For the more general reader, however, the first volume of this series—*Felix Frankfurter, A Tribute*—is preferable. Its engaging sketches suggest that Frankfurter's impact may have been due quite as much to his unique personality as to his intellectual power. (And, of course, anyone is illiterate on this subject who has missed that extraordinary book, *Felix Frankfurter Reminisces.*)

Another work relating to the Court, *A Supreme Court Justice Is Appointed*—a study of the appointment of Pierce Butler—ought to be to everyone's taste. Danelski, an admirably restrained author who treats facts with genuine respect, has produced a well wrought and thoroughly entertaining analysis of the political considerations underlying an important judicial appointment (Harding wanted a Democrat, and if a Catholic, so much the better); of the guarded but determined drives on behalf of the candidates (Chief Justice Taft, mobilizer of the Butler forces, paid particular attention to enlisting the endorsement of the Catholic hierarchy, in part to counter the support of Judge Manton by Archbishop Hayes); of the lucky near misses of history (a judge later convicted of taking bribes—Archbishop Hayes' candidate—was a front-runner for a while); and of the personalities of some of the principal *dramatis personae*—Harding, Taft, and Attorney General Daugherty. It is a book one is sorry to see end.

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REVIEWERS

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM *is editor of Mentor-Omega Books, and an associate editor of* Cross Currents.

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WILLIAM JAMES SMITH *is a free lance writer and critic.*

WILLIAM H. DEMPSEY, JR., *was formerly Chief Law Clerk to Chief Justice Warren.*

CORRESPONDENCE

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

(*Continued from page 203*)

superior insight into the Word which Lawler calls "the charism of clear discernment," nor that the layman "does not clearly see." There is, in fact, some justification for arguing the opposite, and at the present time there are those who feel that because of his position the priest is less able than the layman to bear witness to the Word. All too often, the absolute submission to an individual bishop, who is after all another human being, which Lawler recommends, seems antithetical to the spirit of Christ's Word and His Church. Paradoxically, Lawler seems to feel that laymen should lead in taking risks because they are less subject to the dangers of ecclesiastical authority. Yet we may say that in practical affairs, by virtue of all his office symbolizes, the priest is in a better position to work toward the actualization of the universal principles of human dignity and Christian charity in the world than the layman: his office leaves no doubt about his motives and the source of his commitment.

Furthermore, in theory, in respect to spreading the Word of God, we are all priests. Our age, like Christ's, is pagan

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and hostile to Christianity, and all of us who seek to emulate Christ are called to carry the Word of God to the heathens, whether they appear on parish rolls or even wear a Roman collar. The worship of Christ involves a total response of the whole being; to me, Lawler's distinction between "the witness of the Word" and "the witness of the deed" does not exist, has no meaning.

At the heart of Lawler's argument lies the opposition between "the eschatological and the incarnational dimension of Christianity." Like the Church in recent history, Lawler wishes to emphasize the eschatological; I wish to emphasize the incarnational. I would prefer to see the Church as a sign of Christ's continual coming here and now. If we seek to incarnate Christ in ourselves and our world, we shall be participating in His second coming in glory.

At the present time, the role of the priest in the modern world is receiving close scrutiny; priests and laymen alike are concerned, and the subject will undoubtedly come up at the next session of the Council. Yet the need, it seems to me, is for new and creative approaches, not arguments to buttress the traditional position, new wine skins for old wine. It seems to me that all too many aspects of the priest's traditional role are man-made products of human history and human institutions. Therefore, we have not only the need but also the opportunity to seek a more meaningful understanding of what it is to be a priest.

THOMAS M. LORCH

"Priests and Intellectualism"

Prospect Harbor, Me.

To the Editors: Father Poole ("Priests and Intellectualism," April 9) has shed valuable light on factors which have made for a specifically American clerical anti-intellectualism. Some of these he traces to French influence. Olier's quotation is notable: "If you study for any other motive than that of piety, all your knowledge will serve only to make you more vain, more full of yourselves, more self-opinionated and attached to your own judgment; in a word, the more learned you become, the drier your devotion."

The general tone of the quotation is un-Thomistic. Yet it is not hard to imagine the sentiment echoed today by many who hold St. Thomas Aquinas in great esteem, and not only here in America. I would suggest that there is, as well as an American Catholic anti-intellectualism, a strain of anti-intellectualism in the Church, the source of which is, in a way, paradoxical.

When St. Francis saw his friars go off to the universities, he was witnessing a profound change in the Church's orientation. Since that time the Church has been an intellectual church, a university church. The training of priests is a university training. Theology and the catechism have assumed more importance than the liturgy and an understanding of the typology of the Scriptures. The Augustinian emphasis on the primacy of the will has been replaced by St. Thomas' belief in the primacy of the intellect *per se*.

Could it not be that this intellectualistic heritage of the high middle ages, to a large extent codified by the Council of Trent and later developments, has actually placed so awesome a burden on even redeemed human nature that an obscure resistance makes itself felt in an undercurrent of anti-intellectualism which incongruously accompanies our formal allegiance to it? Catholic education is philosophically oriented, yet at the same time it is often uncongenial towards thinking. Secular education is usually far less committed to a belief in reason, while often being less suspicious of actual thought.

Every Catholic is an intellectual by virtue of his catechism. Even as Catholics are spiritually Semites, they are intellectually Hellenes. St. Thomas left us no choice. We are intellectuals whether we like it or not. And usually we don't.

I think that there will be a strong element of anti-intellectualism in the Church as long as the intellectualistic

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THOMAS MERRIAM

Selma and South Africa

Amherst, Mass.

To the Editors: Father Berrigan's article linking South Africa's racial plight to that of Selma ["Selma and Sharpeville," April 9] is generous, especially in that it suggests that what happened at Sharpeville and what happened at Selma are similar and deserve a similar concern from readers of COMMONWEAL.

South Africa's case is unlike Selma's in being almost hopeless. The dynamic of the South African struggle has been not towards, but away from democracy. In the face of restrictive laws, arbitrary powers in the hands of administrators, police intimidation, the possibilities of imprisonment, banishment, banning, loss of citizenship, to mention only some of the severe penalties of opposition, have directed the struggle against apartheid to violence, sabotage and random terrorism. The future seems to hold only two possibilities: the continued Spartanizing of the state to keep the helots down; or a failure of this policy which must open the gates to a civil war between intransigent elements who will reduce themselves and the country to barbarism.

The context of this struggle, in spite of world opposition to apartheid, is narrower than in the struggle for racial justice in the States. South Africa has almost no tradition for freedom, no possibilities of federal intervention, no public opinion strong enough to steer the government away from the ferocity of apartheid's injustice towards the extension of the franchise. Although criticism from the outside world does reach South Africa, it is usually filtered through the government-controlled radio (television is banned), or a press in the hands of cabinet ministers and the mining houses. The criticism that does penetrate the cloister often seems inane or hypocritical, especially when it does not mitigate commercial cordiality.

Another important difference between Selma and South Africa is in the stance and behavior of the Church. In South Africa it has, on the whole, been left to the Anglicans to protest against apartheid with sufficient vigor to be expelled from the country or silenced in other ways. In spite of a few heroic exceptions, the Catholics have been passive auditors of bishops' statements which condemn apartheid in general terms and exhort the faithful to practice justice and charity. Out of approximately two thousand whites arrested under the emergency laws of 1960 and imprisoned without trial only one was a Catholic. As late as last year a senior member of the South African Bishops' Conference issued a statement to the press saying that it is difficult to condemn apartheid outright although some of the laws could be administered more courteously. Laws forbidding a man to earn a living, marry, live with his family, seek an education, can not be significantly improved by courteous administration.

In the absence of any strong pressure within South Africa to halt apartheid and seek other solutions, the forces towards which its opponents look must be external. They are Russia and China, the rest of Africa, and Britain and the United States. Father Berrigan has pointed out that South Africa was bailed out of the crisis caused by Sharpeville by American investment. The extent of American influence can hardly be overestimated. So far as I remember it was only after American and British protest in 1960 that Sharpeville was regarded as a crisis at all. Without strong external condemnation Sharpeville would not have seemed exceptionally shocking. Since then South Africa has become hardened to strong verbal condemnation. Her invulnerability is largely composed of American and British financial support.

There is probably no hope for South Africa, but if there is any at all, it is that America and Britain will seek righteousness, justice and immense political profit by threatening to outlaw investment unless the South African government does try to find and implement some other solution than apartheid. Needless to say, few actions could win the United States more political credit at so little expense. It seems likely, however, that made wary by the effects of intervention in Southeast Asia the United States will be left behind by the determination of the Afro-Asian countries to intervene in South Africa and that she will fail to exploit one of the great opportunities offered by the war against racial injustice to serve God and Mammon at once.

ROSE MOSS

Mass in South Africa

Whitesboro, N.Y.

To the Editors: Never among the numerous articles concerning the tragic happenings in Alabama have I encountered anything so deeply moving as Father Daniel Berrigan's "Selma and Sharpeville" in your April 9 issue. It deserves the most widespread circulation and I hope you will make this possible by permitting your readers to purchase quantity reprints for distribution.

I do not see how the most hardened segregationist could fail to be moved by Fr. Berrigan's account of the Johannesburg Good Friday service in the Zulu tongue. I believe it was Anglican Bishop Trevor Huddleston who remarked that, to the African, adoration comes as naturally as breathing. It is something that must be seen at first hand to be fully appreciated.

Last summer, on a trip through East Africa with my wife and niece, we were privileged to share this experience, when, as the only whites in a huge congregation, we attended Mass at Moshi, Tanganyika. The church was crowded to its doors by the all African congregation, and perhaps a hundred or more, unable to get in, stood outside to listen. We were told that regularly some 7000 attended the six Masses in that church each Sunday.

The parts of the Mass not in Latin were in the vernacular Swahili. We were amazed to hear the congregation

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sing hymns and responses in beautiful Latin without benefit of books or printed material.

More remarkable still was their intense concentration upon the Mass and their deep devotion.

The only bright spot in the Alabama tragedy is the witness made by the hundreds of white clergy of all denominations who participated in the protest marches. Bishop Sheen quotes Abraham Lincoln as saying "I am sorry for the man who can't feel the whip when it is laid on another man's back." Obviously Fr. Berrigan is one who can and one who cares.

STANLEY M. MILLER

Father Coughlin

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: Reminiscence is not necessarily good for anybody's soul, but having just read in your April 16 issue a review of a book about Father Coughlin [*Father Coughlin and the New Deal,* by Charles J. Tull], I think a bit of yesterday may be appropriate. The quest for doctorates leads more and more to the choice of relatively contemporary topics, and the ancient maxim is substantiated once more. It is easier to write about the days of Tacitus than about one's own simply because the temptation to project oneself backward into a context in which one does not fit is a truly devilish one.

I have not seen the six dollars and fifty cents worth published by Syracuse University Press and it may be that this is more substantial than James R. Mellow's review. I read: "He (Father Coughlin) had the backing of the more liberal Catholic circles, including THE COMMONWEAL." In the first place, the designation does not fit either THE COMMONWEAL or *America* in that time. The "Liberals" were Father Coughlin and others, like John T. Flynn, while we were conservative, in the time-honored sense of the term.

As a matter of fact, I wrote the first full-length article critical of Father Coughlin to appear in the United States. This was published, it is true, in the *Review of Reviews,* but there was never any doubt in people's minds about the identity of the author. A little more than two and a half bushels of mail were delivered to the COMMONWEAL door, the mood of which ranged all the way from rabid denunciation to words of sorrow about my impenitent spirit. Even so, the article I had written was restrained and objective. What would have happened if this piece of immortal prose had sounded more like Dean Swift I leave to the imagination.

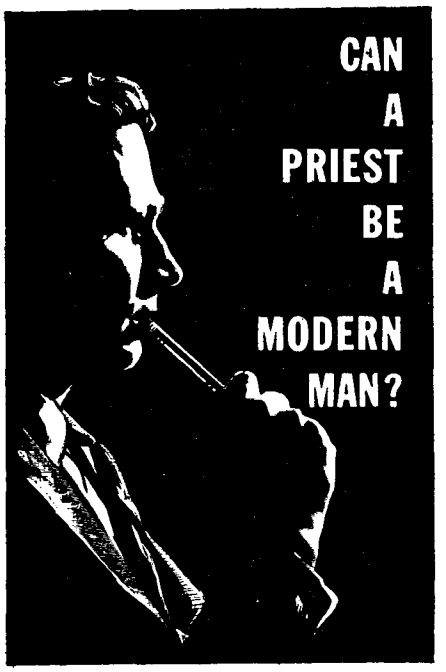
But even more memorable in terms of "liberal Catholic circles" was the radio broadcast (there was no TV in those days) made by Father Wilfrid Parsons, then editor of *America.* I never discussed the matter with him, but there are one or two things to say about it which ought perhaps to be recorded. The man who arranged for the broadcast was C. D. Jackson, later identified completely with *Time-Life-Fortune.* Mr. Jackson was at the time sincerely interested in Catholic journalism, and to his good offices we were often indebted. Thus were the values of one kind of conservatism underscored.

Anyhow Father Parson's broadcast was temperate, though possibly a little more acidulous than my article. About what happened thereafter I know only that Father Parsons ceased to be editor of *America* and was transferred to Georgetown University. The rest of the story has so far been veiled in silence.

I record these things in order to indicate that we of the "more liberal Catholic circles" were not the dopes Mr. Mellow's piece indicates, even though it was more difficult not to be a dope than it perhaps is in 1965 . . . though it is obviously easy to be one the other way round.

Let me add that hardly a week goes by without a letter from some research workers asking for sources, comments, recollections. So far I have always dedicated some hours to answering each one. The record indicates that only a single person bothered to acknowledge receipt of the reply. But I know that stamps are difficult to obtain by graduate students. This is for the record.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER



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